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# Paul Durand-Ruel and the market for early modernism

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PAUL DURAND-RUEL AND  
THE MARKET FOR EARLY MODERNISM

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

in

The School of Art

by  
Marci Regan  
B.A., Louisiana State University, 1997  
May 2004

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the art sales and marketing of Impressionism in the late nineteenth century, focusing on the dealer Paul Durand-Ruel. Throughout the nineteenth century in Paris, the Académie des Beaux-Arts wrote the history of art by supporting certain artists who followed its ideas of what art should look like. The artists that the Academy chose to support had lucrative careers; they were offered commissions from both the church and state to paint grand historical pictures. Throughout the nineteenth century and until World War II, Paris was the artistic center of the world, and the birthplace of many avant-garde groups. Forward-thinking artists gathered together in the city to discuss their ideas about the development of contemporary art. The first of these modern movements comprised a small group of artists who in the 1860s abandoned their traditional Academic training to be allowed the freedom to paint in their own chosen style. These artists defined themselves in opposition to the Academy, which had complete control over artists' careers at the time, and in so doing were forced to find their own ways to make a living. The Impressionists' independent spirit created a need for dealers free of the Salon's constraints who would institute a new outlet for the display of works of art. Paul Durand-Ruel supported these artists by paying monthly stipends in advance for work produced to allow them to continue creating work. He created an intimate gallery setting which showed the individual work and artist more than the Salon setting, in order to cater to a new audience. He did not rely on the Salon for authorization, as dealers had done before him, and this decision has influenced the way private dealers and artists function to the present day. This thesis traces the Durand-Ruel Gallery from Paris to New York, and along with it the introduction of Impressionism to both French and American audiences.

## **CHAPTER 1: THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND**

### **A. Introduction**

Like most groups of artists who were considered avant-garde in their time, the Impressionists were looked at with scorn and ridicule by the keepers of tradition when they began to show their work in the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>1</sup> The popularity of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings in the present day gives no indication of the struggle that these artists endured when they began their careers over 130 years ago. If price is an indication of value, admiration for their works has skyrocketed, as prices have risen from the equivalent of sixteen U.S. dollars (if the artists were lucky enough to sell anything) in the 1870s to millions of dollars today.<sup>2</sup>

As a result of the rigid teachings of the French Academy, the Impressionist artists and their supporters were forced to develop a new system of art exhibition and sales, which had a major effect on the structure of the art market. By breaking with tradition and creating their own venues for display—independent of the state-sponsored Salons and separate from the venues supported by the general public and the established system of dealers—they elevated the status of the artist and set a precedent for future generations of avant-garde artists to follow. Though artists had stood against the Academy before this time, a combination of factors allowed the Impressionists to succeed. First and foremost were their independent spirit and extraordinary determination to stand up for their rights to make a living as artists. Unable to work within the Salon system, however, they needed to find suitable places to show and sell their work. Fortunately, it was possible for them to do so, given the social and political changes that had taken place in France since the Revolution. Chief among these were the rise of the middle class and the growth of Paris as a vital center of modern culture and thought.

## **B. The Academy**

In order to understand the trials and the successes of this group of artists, who after 1874 would be forever known as the Impressionists, it is necessary to understand where they stood in relation to the art and political history that caused them to strike out on their own. At the outset of their careers, they were forced to compete within a system that had very precise ideas about how the art world should be arranged and what kind of art should be deemed acceptable. The French art industry of the nineteenth century was a highly structured one, controlled by the government and the Académie des Beaux-Arts. The Academy determined the standards accepted in art, as it was the dominant art school in Paris and had been since the seventeenth century. Its forerunner, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, was founded in 1648 by artisans who sought government support in order to be respected as educated artists,<sup>3</sup> no longer selling their goods like tradesmen or associating with the guild system.<sup>4</sup>

From its inception until the French Revolution, members of the Academy were government employees; they received salaries and studios from the state, and official commissions were reserved for them. The government sponsored an annual exhibition called the Salon to show the public examples of the commissions that had been sponsored that year, thereby condoning a specific type of art. These exhibitions were held in the Salon Carré in the Louvre and became known simply as Salons.<sup>5</sup> The Salon was the premier annual art exhibition in France until the 1880s, and it largely defined the world of art. Salons were open only to members of the Academy before the nineteenth century. Following the reformation of the Academy after the French Revolution, however, independent artists were allowed to submit their work to a jury, composed of Academicians, in order to determine if it was worthy of admission into the Salon. Throughout its history, the qualities valued by the Academicians were

draftsmanship, a highly finished surface, and balanced and studied compositions similar to those of Italian Renaissance art. Moreover, academic artists were trained to respect a hierarchy of genres, with history painting leading the way and commanding the greatest respect, as it was thought to require the most knowledge and skill. The hierarchy was completed by portraiture, genre, landscape, and still life, in that order.

As Charles and Cynthia White have noted, the Academy monopolized “the teaching of drawing ‘from life,’ expanded its membership by forcing all ‘free’ painters and *brevetaires* into its organization, and laid down the ideological framework—rigid hierarchy of subject matter by cultural importance, a definition of ‘correct’ style and a program of training to inculcate it—that was to persist as the basis of the Academic system.”<sup>6</sup> Because the Academy was funded by the State and established the accepted standards of artistic subject matter and style, it held a monopoly over the opportunities available to artists, forcing its rejects to follow a path of innovation and rebellion. After the French Revolution, however, the Salon was no longer a showplace for government artists’ commissions, as originally intended. The Salon became a marketplace when, in 1804, it was decided that, to use Patricia Mainardi’s words, “Instead of continuing the custom of allowing a committee of artists to award commissions after each Salon to the most distinguished exhibitors, for a projected work of the artist’s choosing, it would be more advantageous for the state to give inexpensive honoraria as awards while purchasing finished works from among those already on display.”<sup>7</sup> As a result of this practice, the Academic and Salon systems now controlled not only the training and exhibition available for artists but also the art market.

Though the Salon was technically open to all artists after the French Revolution, the jury often accepted only those who did not challenge its official theory of aesthetics. Therefore,

students trained at the Academy remained the predominant contributors to the annual Salon exhibitions. Prize winners at the Salon received fame, salaries, studios, and social standing. They often went on to study at the French Academy in Rome, became professors of the Beaux-Arts Academy in Paris, and determined the traditional painting techniques in which future students would be trained. They often received a commission from the church or the state, or their work was purchased by the government for a museum or by a dealer who sold it in his shop. Artists' reputations were established at the Salon because the Salon attracted large crowds that included not only collectors but also critics, who often wrote in detail about Salon paintings, further publicizing the artists to potential collectors.

The founders of Impressionism had all received academic training and even met each other in an academic setting.<sup>8</sup> In the 1850s Manet and Degas studied at the Academy, Manet at Thomas Couture's studio, and Degas with Louis Lamothe. In the 1860s Renoir, Bazille, Monet, and Sisley studied with Charles Gleyre. Monet, Pissarro, Cézanne, and Guillaumin were at the Académie Suisse, a private academy that was led by Academicians.<sup>9</sup> The younger generation of artists eventually rebelled against the traditions of their teachers, who focused on finish, elevated subject matter, and polished technique. By contrast, the Impressionists were interested in subjects from modern life, which they executed in a sketchy manner, resulting in canvases that lacked finish. Many critics of the new art thought that such painterly techniques yielded mediocrity rather than professionalism. If a work failed to exhibit a sufficient degree of finish, it was dismissed as a sketch and therefore considered unworthy of public display.<sup>10</sup> The professors of the Beaux-Arts thought that the sketch was vital to producing a good work of art, but only as a preliminary step. According to academic opinion, the sketch allowed artists to capture their initial inspiration; only through a process of reasoning and reworking, however, could inspiration



be transformed into a finished work of art. The originality of such a work might be manifested in a sketch, but finish rather than originality was the ultimate goal of the academic artist.

Academicians believed it was their job to educate the novice in artistic standards, which they alone defined. Thus the Impressionists, wishing to paint their own chosen subjects in their own individual styles, could only reject the strict training and traditional aesthetic standards of the Academy.

### **C. Art and the Social History of Impressionism**

There is some dispute among modern-day scholars as to the rigidity of the Academy during the nineteenth century. When discussing the origins of modernism, the term “academic” has taken on a pejorative tone, referring to the French Academy as a monolithic, all-powerful institution that refused to see the point of view of the “underdog”—the Impressionists. Today the Impressionists and their supporters are regarded as the heroes of modernism, without whom art would have remained traditional, conservative, and stifling to free expression. Recent art historians, however, including Albert Boime, Richard Brettell, and Patricia Mainardi, dispute the idea that the Academy was a ruthless rejecter of modernity, observing that it did sometimes allow for such innovative new movements as Romanticism, Barbizon landscape, Realism, and Impressionism.<sup>11</sup> According to Brettell, the Salon was not the enemy of new ideas that most supporters of the avant-garde make it out to be. “Many Salon juries,” Brettell notes, “were dominated by artists like Eugène Delacroix and Camille Corot, who fought for the inclusion of the new and worked to compromise with their more conservative confreres,” although “no Salon would have been entirely acceptable to any one of its jurors.”<sup>12</sup>

Brettell, Boime, Mainardi, and other scholars remind us that the Impressionists were not the first to challenge the aesthetic ideals of the Academy. The nineteenth-century Salon was the

stage for many aesthetic debates between the conventions of the Academy and those of the Romanticists led by Eugène Delacroix, the Realists led by Gustave Courbet, and the advocates of “New Painting” led by Edouard Manet.<sup>13</sup> Like the Impressionists, these artists believed that the concept of “high art” should not be restricted to academic subjects and techniques, which meant that they did not gain consistent acceptance into the Salon. The Romanticists had to fight against the dominant neoclassical orientation of the Salon because they chose their subjects from literature, based them on contemporary political events, or placed them in North African settings. Delacroix, moreover, used loose, fluid brushwork, strong colors, and dramatic compositions. These techniques inspired one conservative critic to say that artists only painted this way to increase their annual output, because their paintings lacked the degree of finish that the Academy so admired. Beginning in the 1830s the Barbizon painters created naturalistic landscape paintings of the Fontainebleau Forest that were condemned by the Salon because they did not adhere to familiar academic formulas. During Louis-Napoleon’s reign (1848-71), artists of the Realist movement, including Courbet, Jean-François Millet, and Honoré Daumier, also began to depart from tradition. They cast aside the academic preference for history and mythology and tried to prove that art and reality did not need to be separate entities. They saw no reason why paintings that recounted the social realities of their time—whether positive, negative, or merely ordinary—should not be considered “high art.”

Impressionist artists were influenced by all of these groups and also by Manet, who never exhibited with them and had a lifelong ambition to compete in the Salon. Manet did, however, meet with the Impressionists at the café, and many considered him to be their leader. The Impressionists carried on the Romantic tradition of loose brushwork and “unfinished” surfaces, painted landscape for the sake of landscape, and followed the Realist tradition of painting

contemporary society and images of daily life as ordinary as a family member seated in a garden or people strolling along a boulevard. They were influenced by the ideas of the celebrated poet and critic Charles Baudelaire, who called the modern city “the hero of modern life” and urged artists to paint it. The Impressionists also created a new painting technique, one that Rewald calls “visual shorthand,” to capture the leisure activities of their time.<sup>14</sup> This sketch-like casualness replaced the crisp, sharply modeled, conventional style of both the Academy and, to some extent, the Realists.

The Impressionists’ concentration on urban motifs was largely in response to changes in French society during the reign of Louis-Napoleon. During this time, Paris was completely transformed from a medieval city into a modern one. Louis-Napoleon’s planner, Baron Haussmann, recreated the city. Old streets were widened into boulevards and connected to new ones; sidewalks and gaslights were added. New bridges were built, buildings were torn down, and wide quays were created along the Seine, making the river more open to commerce. Paris became the city that we know today, open to light and air, rather than the cramped, dark pre-Haussmann Paris.<sup>15</sup> The unorthodox artists of this era fully embraced the modernized city, making it the central motif of their works. These artists challenged themselves to cast aside traditional Salon subjects and embrace the new city with fresh ideas, to paint glimpses of Paris and its bourgeois inhabitants.

Unlike some later avant-garde groups, the Impressionists had no central manifesto. They agreed that the subject matter of art should be modern and tied to everyday reality, but they disagreed on issues of style and execution, which were constant sources of debate at their regular meetings at the Café Guerbois. These painters, along with other forward-looking thinkers of the day, met in the cafés of Montmartre to discuss their latest theories. The first meeting place of the

Impressionists was Le Guerbois, located at 9 Grande Rue des Batignolles, today Avenue de Clichy, just half a block from Place de Clichy. This café was very near the ateliers of many artists of the Batignolles area.<sup>16</sup> Le Guerbois played host to Manet and his friends every Sunday and Thursday evening from 1866 to 1875 (roughly the years before the Franco-Prussian War till just after the Commune). The artists and their friends were in constant contact and usually engaged in heated debate when they met together, as they continued to do after moving to the Café de la Nouvelle Athènes, at 9 Place Pigalle, around 1875.<sup>17</sup>

Thursday evenings at the Café Guerbois were set aside for the artists to discuss the new movement to which they belonged. They all painted motifs of modern Paris, notwithstanding individual differences in style and technique. Pissarro, Renoir, and Monet, for example, believed that painting should be done on the spot, *en plein air*, allowing for direct documentation of what the eye sees. Degas and Manet were more traditional; they painted the progressive theme of modern Paris, but they did so in their studios. They often walked the streets or sat in cafés and made notes or quick sketches but later went back to the studio to paint the final picture. Along with their constant arguments over technique, it was at the café that the artists planned their exhibitions and discussed the marketing of their works. The Impressionists were the first to promote and market their art as a group, holding their first independent show in 1874.<sup>18</sup>

#### **D. Installation Practices**

By holding their own shows, the artists were able to control what was included and how their work was presented to the public. According to Patricia Mainardi, who has written extensively on the Salon system, the Impressionists began to experiment with venues outside the Salon not only because it seldom accepted them, but because it was not an ideal exhibition space. In fact, many contemporary critics believed that the Salon was too crowded and that it was

located in a setting inappropriate for art exhibitions. In 1855 the Academy had permanently moved its exhibition space from the Louvre to the Palais de l'Industrie. The major problems with the Palais were its size (a vast building “designed for industrial shows, not art exhibitions”); its “harsh, unadjustable” lighting; the “incoherent route” through its galleries; and “the shabby temporary walls where the paintings were hung.”<sup>19</sup> Thus the obstacles that the artists encountered with the standing exhibition system were twofold. They faced possible (or probable) rejection, but even when accepted, their works were shown amidst too many others and placed in subordinate locations, usually high on the wall of an overcrowded gallery, a practice known as “skying.”<sup>20</sup> To survive as artists, the Impressionists were obliged to earn a living by selling their work. They needed to find a suitable exhibition venue and a supportive audience.



Fig. 1 Honoré Daumier, *The Refused*. *Le Charivari*, 1855.

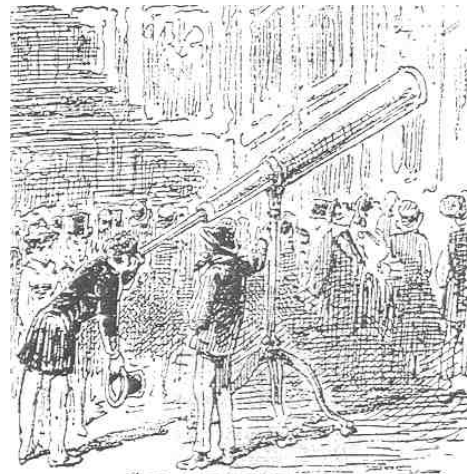


Fig. 2 “At the Salon. A painter whose work is badly placed installs a telescope...” *Le Charivari*, 1880.



Fig. 3 Gustave Dore, *The Salon of 1868*.  
Palais de l'Industrie.

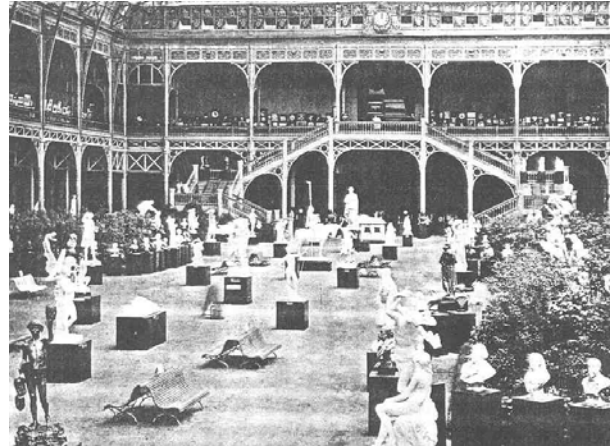


Fig. 4 Salon Installation, Palais de l'Industrie, 1883.

Naturally, as Martha Ward has noted, the Impressionists wanted to “present their work in the best circumstances.” Thus they began holding independent exhibitions in order to expose themselves to the public and sell their work. They had new ideas regarding presentation, production, and installation. Degas, for example, believed that their shows should be mounted on walls painted a different color than the traditional red velvet of the Salon. He stated his opinion clearly in a letter of 1870 to the *Paris-Journal*. Here Degas suggested that “rather than crowd works up, down, and across the walls, the Salon should install only two rows,” and the paintings in those rows should be “separated by at least twenty to thirty centimeters and positioned according to their own demands instead of those preordained by traditional patterns of symmetry.”<sup>21</sup> Degas believed that “the primary concept determining installation should be the integrity of the individual artist and the individual work.”<sup>22</sup> This theory seems fairly obvious to the twenty-first century reader used to the modern idea of displaying works of art at eye level, generously spaced, and presented in single a row; but Degas’s remarks were in clear protest to the Salon’s installation policies and determined how future Impressionist exhibitions would be hung.

As early as 1867, in fact, an anonymous critic writing in the periodical *La Vie parisienne*, recommended that “exhibitors take over the shows and find suitably dignified places and appropriate conditions for displaying works of art.”<sup>23</sup> In 1874 the Impressionists did just that. Pissarro, Monet, Renoir, and Degas organized what would become the First Impressionist Exhibition but which was then an exhibition of a group of artists who called themselves the *Société Anonyme des artistes peintres, sculpteurs, graveurs, et lithographes*. The show was held from mid-April to mid-May 1874 at the former photography studio of Félix Nadar on the Boulevard des Capucines. This was the first time that a group of artists had banded together to show their work directly to the public without the judgment of a jury.<sup>24</sup> By defying tradition in this way, these avant-garde artists established a benchmark for all future modernist efforts. They were trying to promote their work in terms of sales as well as style; they needed to make a living but, more importantly, wanted to establish themselves as respected artists. The *Société Anonyme* decided to include artists who were often accepted at the Salon, in an effort to give credibility to the group as a whole and to attract an audience for their work. Choosing the location for an exhibition is always a challenge. In this case it was a well-known photographer’s studio, located on a major commercial street much frequented by Parisians and tourists alike. To capitalize on the location, the show remained open until 10 o’clock at night, when most people were returning from the theatres and cafés in the area.

The Second Impressionist Exhibition was held in April 1876 at the Durand-Ruel Gallery, which was run by Paul Durand-Ruel, by now the primary dealer for the core of the group. The Durand-Ruel Gallery was also in the centrally located Opera district, only a few blocks from Nadar’s studio. The exhibition was held in three rooms of the gallery, which were subdivided by panels to create a more intimate space and more hanging surfaces. Two hundred and fifty-two

works were showcased, grouped by artist, with each artist assigned his own panel. The 1874 *Société Anonyme* exhibition had been hung not by artist, but with all entries mixed together. By displaying all of one artist's work together, the dealer was trying to establish individual artists within the framework of a group identity. Location again was important: choosing to host the exhibition in a dealer's gallery lent an air of professionalism and respectability to the artists. And once again, so as to ease the public into this new art, only half of the works included in the exhibition were by the Impressionists; the remainder were by more traditional artists. The first room featured the most conventional works, including those of various Barbizon painters for whom Durand-Ruel was the also the primary dealer. The second room held the more "difficult" works, and the third was reserved for Degas and Pissarro, the two artists who most angered the critics.<sup>25</sup> Along with softening the blow by showing more established artists together with the Impressionists, Durand-Ruel offered validation to the latter by featuring works that were not for sale but were lent by collectors who had already purchased them, paintings such as Victor Chocquet's six Renoirs and Jean-Baptiste Faure's nine Monets.

The Impressionists and their dealers needed to reach a new audience, and a key marketing strategy was to host the exhibition in a small, private gallery. This created an intimate setting more reminiscent of a bourgeois interior than the huge, bazaar-like exhibition spaces of the Salon, in theory allowing the potential buyer to imagine the work in his Paris apartment.<sup>26</sup> Thinking about the relationship between the viewer, the work of art, and the exhibition space was less important at the Salon, because that installation system had been in place for so long that people were used to viewing art stacked from floor to ceiling. In addition, Salon works were in general much larger than those of the Impressionists, who needed to cultivate conditions that would be more appropriate to viewing their small easel paintings. How art meets its public is an



important factor, especially when the work is innovative or in some other way different from the norm, as the Impressionist paintings initially were. Thus a major change in the history of display came along with these early Impressionist exhibitions.

In studying a range of exhibitions from artists' group shows to dealers' gallery exhibitions and exhibitions sponsored by artist societies, one can examine how installations and venues affected understanding of contemporary painting in late nineteenth-century Paris. Not only did the sites and installations selected bring out the characteristics of particular paintings or movements, they shaped the public view of the new movements. The goals of these early Impressionist exhibitions were to introduce the art and artists to the buying public, to sell works of art, and to establish the artists' reputations. One way this was done was by giving individual attention to each painting, something hardly possible in the Salon, with its paintings stacked floor to ceiling in the Palais de l'Industrie, a venue that also hosted commercial and industrial shows. By contrast, the Impressionists and their dealer paid attention to how the works were positioned in relation to other things in the environment. They considered the nature of the site, controlled the source of light, and chose the framing, the matting, and the color of the walls. They gave thought to the style of hanging—the number of paintings shown and the way they were combined in new groupings—as well as the size of the room and the size and type of crowd. They considered whether all these things made the space look commercial or, as they clearly preferred, intimate. Thus innovations in painting went hand in hand with innovations in display. The organizers of these shows took the opportunity to create their own, ideal display spaces, and studying their choices gives insight into the attitudes they had about the proper presentation of art.

The business practices established by the Durand-Ruel Gallery and the avant-garde artists that it represented eventually overturned the system in which the Salon was the validator of contemporary art. In the process, a new way to display and sell works of art was developed. The art gallery became the forum for contemporary art to meet its public. As the new system developed, dealers would increasingly be the ones who selected works to show, hosted gallery openings, placed works in museums, and helped to create prominent private collections. In doing so they gave hefty authentication to the artists they represented.

## CHAPTER 2: DEALERS AND COLLECTORS

### A. Durand-Ruel

Paul Durand-Ruel is best known as the champion of the Impressionists, the dealer who stood up for the progressive art in which he believed. According to Robert Jensen, art dealers may be separated into two categories: the profit-oriented, “entrepreneurial” dealer who dominated the picture trade until the end of the nineteenth century; and the “ideological” dealer, described as an “altruistic campaigner for the public good” who claims “to be dedicated not merely to making money, but to be an advocate of a particular kind of art.”<sup>27</sup> Citing Paul Durand-Ruel as the key ideological dealer, Jensen also recognized the magnitude of his achievement in transporting these idealistic practices to the United States. Jensen’s ideas regarding Durand-Ruel were not, however, entirely his own, for the dealer clearly states in his own memoirs that he and his father thought of themselves as artistic advocates. As Durand-Ruel put it, “profit generally has never concerned my family . . . [and] in my parents’ business career, as in my own, questions of money were neglected, almost to a fault. We had other more exalted and absorbing concerns which, unhappily, never made us rich.”<sup>28</sup>

The Durand-Ruel Gallery began in 1830 in Paris with Jean-Marie-Fortuné Durand and Marie-Ferdinande Ruel, Paul’s parents, and remained a family-run company until the Paris gallery closed in 1975. Paul, along with his sons, expanded the operations not only in Paris but internationally, and in 1887 he set up permanent quarters in New York, where the gallery continued to promote contemporary art until it closed in 1950. The gallery and its archives were passed down through four generations of the Durand-Ruel family, and though the Paris gallery closed in 1975, the archives are maintained today, open to scholars, by the fifth generation of the

family.<sup>29</sup> Like many art galleries in mid-nineteenth-century Paris, the Durand-Ruel Gallery began as a stationery shop that also carried art supplies. When Jean-Marie's clients could not afford to purchase their supplies, he accepted their works as payment for paper, canvas, oils, watercolors, and easels. Jean-Marie saw the possibilities in the new bourgeois buyers for the art that he wanted to sell. He believed that they were less influenced by academic prejudice and realized that they might willingly be led by a dealer. A large pool of potential buyers was instrumental to the ultimate success of the company. With this in mind, in 1833 Jean-Marie moved his business, now devoted exclusively to paintings and art supplies, from 174 rue St.-Jacques to 103 Rue des Petits-Champs in order to be closer to the neighborhood where his clients lived and where he believed he could find new ones.<sup>30</sup>

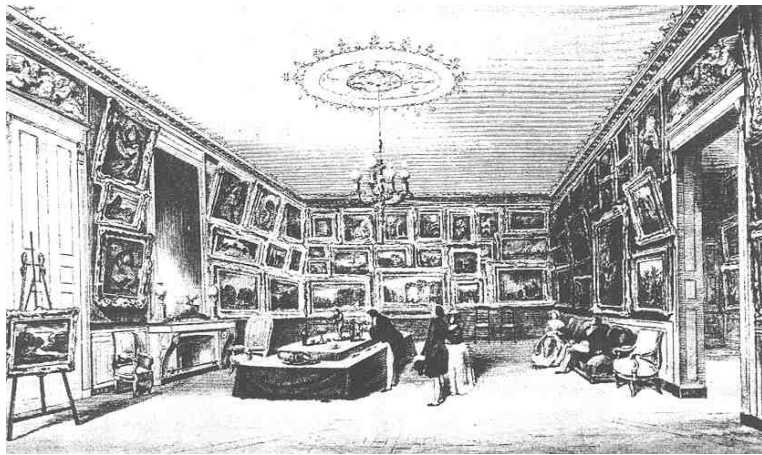


Fig. 5 Anonymous, *View of Durand-Ruel Gallery*, Paris, 1845.



Fig. 6 Marcelin Desboutin, *Portrait of Durand-Ruel*, 1882.

In 1846 Jean-Marie decided to move again to more fashionable quarters on the corner of the Boulevard des Italiens and the Rue de Choiseul. His son, Paul, joined the firm. Paul says in his memoirs that the artists with whom he was in contact at this time—Millet, Rousseau, Dupré,

Diaz, Delacroix, and Corot—formed his artistic judgment in these early years.<sup>31</sup> As business steadily increased, father and son moved once again, in 1856, to larger galleries at 1 Rue de la Paix.

When Jean-Marie died in 1865, Paul took over the company and continued to develop close relationships with the artists that he represented. By 1870, when Paul Durand-Ruel fled to London to escape the Franco-Prussian War, he was the major dealer of the Barbizon painters. In the hopes of holding shows in England and cultivating an international audience, he brought with him his stock of paintings by Corot, Millet, Daubigny, Diaz, and Rousseau.<sup>32</sup> In London one of his Barbizon artists, Charles Daubigny, introduced him to Claude Monet, who in turn introduced him to Camille Pissarro—these artists were also in London waiting out the war. Durand-Ruel realized that Monet and Pissarro were the logical successors to the Barbizon school, and he purchased works by each of them.<sup>33</sup> As he noted in his memoirs, “soon after our meeting I began slipping a few paintings by these two artists into exhibitions which I organized in London.” This became a signature Durand-Ruel practice. By “slipping” works by not-yet-established artists into exhibitions featuring those who already had a following, especially if similarities could be drawn between the former and the latter, Durand-Ruel gave legitimacy to the younger generation. He also used this tactic, as we will see later, in the context of collectors; many times he held loan exhibitions, borrowing works from collectors to present alongside of those for sale. This technique permitted him to display more examples of an artist’s work than those that he himself possessed, but, more importantly, it showed potential buyers that they too could join the club, so to speak.

In 1871, when all were back in Paris, Monet and Pissarro introduced Durand-Ruel to their colleagues. It was at this time that he became the trumpeter for the avant-garde artists who

would later be known as the Impressionists and immediately began purchasing their works.

Durand-Ruel became more than an intermediary between the painter and the collector; he offered encouragement to these struggling artists and gave them money to continue their work. The Impressionists depended on the works bought and sold by Durand-Ruel and the monthly stipend he paid them. He not only introduced them to collectors such as Jean-Baptiste Faure and Ernest Hoschedé but also helped to reorganize the art market.

Durand-Ruel's major challenge as the primary dealer of these unknown painters was to validate them as artists in some way. One of the ways he did this was by showing their works together with those of an older generation, thereby subtly suggesting associations between them. When his father was running the gallery, he had established relationships with many Salon artists, and when Paul joined the company he sold these Salon painters alongside the more independent-minded Barbizon artists. In the 1870s, now that a market for Barbizon landscapes was established, he sold Impressionist paintings alongside them. To do so was reasonable, since the Impressionists had been influenced by the Barbizon group. More importantly, Durand-Ruel's practice linked the Impressionists in the public eye to the preceding generation, thereby helping to establish their position in art history. He also used this innovative procedure as a monetary ploy, selling the work of the Salon artists to help finance his investment in the Barbizon school, and once the works of the Barbizon painters became valuable, he used them to finance his Impressionist purchases.<sup>34</sup>

Another way Durand-Ruel sought to manipulate public opinion was through his writings. Rather than relying on art critics in the independent press, who did not look kindly on the painters that he represented, he published journals of his own on two different occasions. The first one, *La Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité*, was founded in 1899 and ended with

the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. The second, *L'Art dans les deux mondes*, appeared only in 1890 and 1891. He used this journal to explain contemporary art—more specifically, the contemporary art that he represented—to the widest audience he could reach. It included a feature where an artist was interviewed in his studio, offering the public an intimate picture of the artist Durand-Ruel was seeking to establish.<sup>35</sup> The other way Durand-Ruel used print to influence potential patrons was by publishing catalogues of works either for particular exhibitions or of artists in his gallery stock, and he hired art historians or art critics to write an adulatory or anecdotal introduction. In so doing, his investments—that is, the artists—were validated by respected members of the art community. An early example of this is the catalogue that he published in 1873. Durand-Ruel had been enthusiastically buying Impressionist paintings since he met Monet and Pissarro three years earlier, and by 1873 he had put together enough of them to issue a catalogue of his stock that included works by Monet, Pissarro, and Sisley. To write the introduction he hired the highly regarded art critic Armand Silvestre, who, in the following year, at the time of the First Impressionist Exhibition, was to claim that these artists had the leadership potential to advance French painting.<sup>36</sup>

Like his father before him, Paul Durand-Ruel was one of the few dealers who acted as an expert at the Hôtel Drouot, the state-sponsored auction house. This role further legitimized the dealer and the artists he chose to represent. Durand-Ruel also bought and sold through the auction house. He maintained a virtual monopoly on artists' works by buying at auction and maintained the prices of his protégés at a high level by his bids. He also instituted a policy of buying from older, established artists whose prices had not kept up with the times. He would purchase all of the works in the artist's studio and then actively create a market for them. In 1866, when his father died, Durand-Ruel went into a temporary partnership with the dealer

Hector Brame to invest enormous sums in the Barbizon painters. Their most famous coup came in 1866 when they acquired seventy works directly from Théodore Rousseau's studio. The following year, they held a special Rousseau exhibition at the Union Artistique, a private artist-patron society, rather than using either of their own galleries. In this way they hoped that both the press and the general public would view the show as a historical exhibition, rather than one for the dealers' personal gain. When Rousseau died in 1867, they purchased additional works from his posthumous auction.

Paul Durand-Ruel reorganized the art market with such techniques as the one-man show or artist's retrospective.<sup>37</sup> Traditionally, the honor of a retrospective had been reserved for artists at the end of their careers, but Durand-Ruel used it to showcase the work of artists irrespective of their age, and by so doing, established their reputations and created steady sales. In displaying an artist's work in the form of a retrospective, he hoped to make the public aware of its scope and stimulate a taste for it. Although a retrospective could not be an insurance policy—a guarantee that an artist's work would sell—the message conveyed to the public was subtle and effective: if an artist receives a retrospective, he must be great enough to deserve one. Retrospective exhibitions gave Durand-Ruel the opportunity to show not only a collection of artists belonging to a particular school, but of a leader of that school. Though such exhibitions rarely created an artist's reputation, they did introduce audiences to many of his works and were able to document his personal development. This was true even for the relatively young artists that Durand-Ruel sponsored. He was able to give them retrospectives because he had been committed to them for years, was closely familiar with their work, and either held an ample supply of it or could easily gather a collection.



## B. Gallery Location and Dealers

The importance of the “new” Paris cannot be underestimated when studying the Impressionists and their patrons. The society in which artists live has a profound effect on their view of the world and directly affects their art. In the nineteenth century, Paris was the center of the art world and the center of developments in modern painting. From the 1840s to the turn of the century, Paris became a fashionable city and a magnet for the European cultural elite. Its population dramatically increased, making tourism, entertainment, and leisure popular pastimes. This atmosphere was ideal for entrepreneurs, including a new group of art dealers. The core of this new prosperity was in the area near the new Opéra and the *grand boulevards* that had been created by Baron Haussmann. All of the Impressionists’ dealers and independent shows were in this area, which served as both the financial district of the city and center of middle-class leisure. It was an area of culture that art patrons also knew well because of its many theatres, shops, and cafés.



Fig. 7 Interior of Durand-Ruel Gallery, 16 rue Laffitte, 1879.

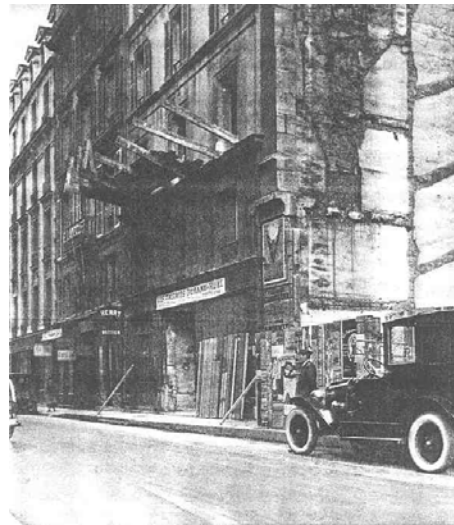


Fig. 8 Façade, Durand-Ruel Gallery, 16 rue Laffitte, ca. 1920.



Fig. 9 Paul Durand-Ruel in the rue Laffitte gallery, ca. 1910.



Fig. 10 View of the Durand-Ruel Gallery at 16 rue Laffitte, 1920.

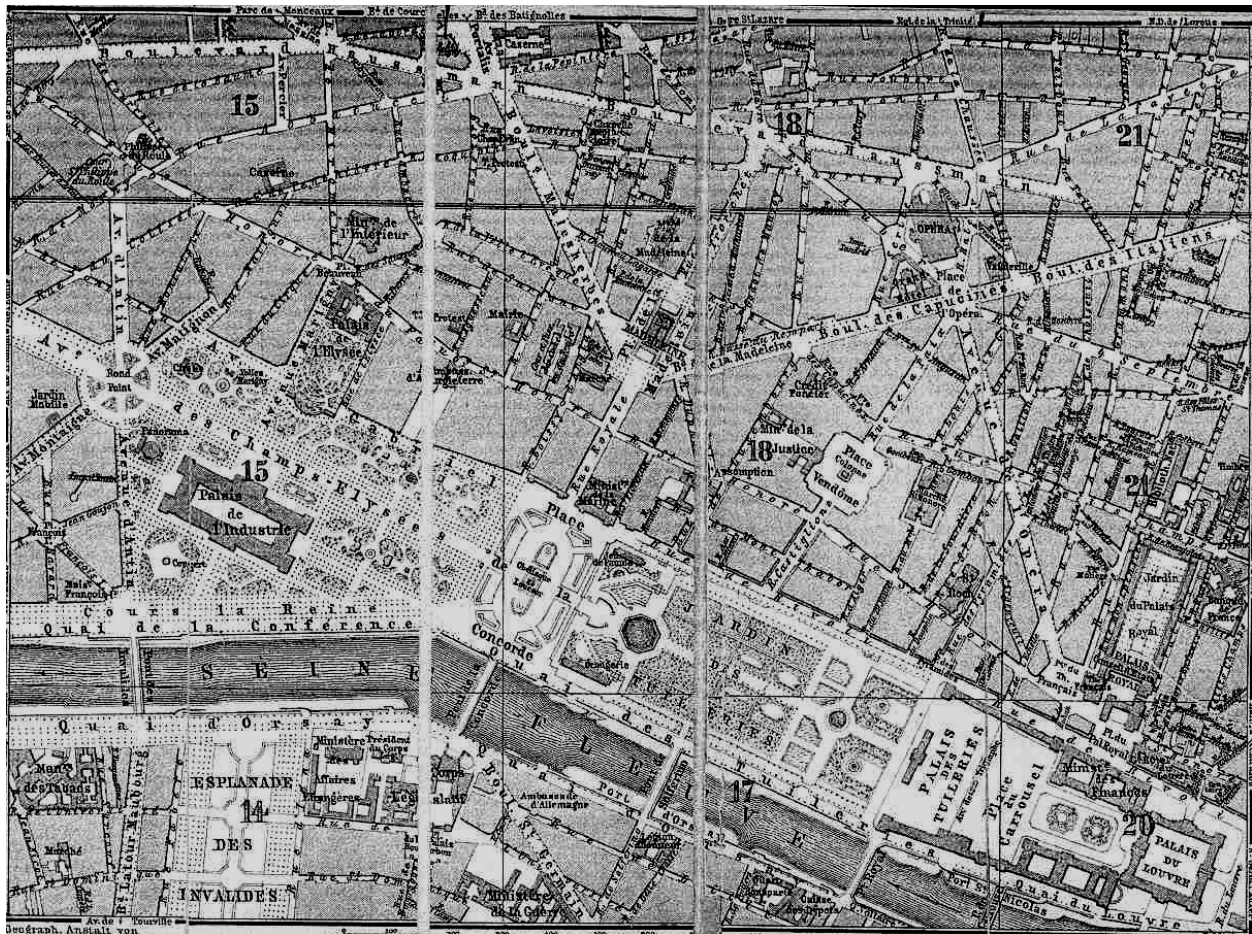


Fig. 11 Map of Paris showing the location of the Louvre, Palais de l'Industrie, l'Opéra, and rue Laffitte, 1878.

By the 1850s, Rue Laffitte had become the hub of the Parisian art market and would continue to be until World War I. It was a busy commercial area that intersected with Boulevard

des Italiens. In 1870 Durand-Ruel had moved to a larger gallery that had two entrances, one at 16 Rue Laffitte and the other at 11 Rue Le Peletier; he would remain here until 1920.<sup>38</sup> The Paris Opera House was on Rue Le Peletier until it burned down in 1873. There were many upscale shops and expensive private homes in the area, and many art dealers were also located there, particularly on Rue Laffitte.<sup>39</sup> Adolphe Beugniet, whose shop had been at 10 Rue Laffitte since 1848, was one of the most prominent in the neighborhood. He represented Eugène Delacroix, the well-established Salon artist, but also specialized in landscape painters. Beugniet had little sympathy for the Realists, although he did work with Degas in 1880. At 12 Rue Laffitte was Alexis Febure, who was the first to buy works by Manet, including *Boy with Sword*. Alphonse Legrand had a gallery at 22A Rue Laffitte from 1876 to 1878, but had previously worked for Durand-Ruel and rented rooms at this gallery for his own exhibitions. He was bankrolled by Gustave Caillebotte and made several unsuccessful attempts at sending Impressionist paintings to America between 1878 and 1886.<sup>40</sup> At No. 33 was Alexis-Eugène Detrimont, who began his career as a framer and restorer and was encouraged by the dealer Febure to open a shop on Rue Laffitte. Like Durand-Ruel, Detrimont had established a reputation for dealing in contemporary landscapes, particularly those of Charles-François Daubigny. He was also Gustave Courbet's dealer for a time.<sup>41</sup>

At 52 Rue Laffitte was Père (Pierre-Firmin) Martin, whose family had been dealers since 1869. He went to the artists, bought low, and sold quickly to make a small profit. After 1870, he was a dealer of the Impressionists. In 1870 Pissarro gave Martin's address as his own in the Salon catalogue. Martin lived a few doors away from Renoir's apartment at 29 Rue St.-Georges. He sold works by all of the Impressionists at low prices, had a high turnover rate and a keen eye, and recognized young talent early. He frequently resold to Durand-Ruel and often served as a

broker between the artists and the more fashionable dealers. His business ended when, in 1893, he died in his apartment fire.<sup>42</sup>

At No. 34 Rue LaFayette, at the corner of Rue Laffitte, was the Gallery of Louis Latouche. Latouche was an artist himself and had sent his works to the Salon from 1866 to 1882. After many rejections, he agreed to help young artists protesting the Salon. Along with such painters as Manet, Monet, Bazille, Renoir, Pissarro, and Sisley, his name was on the petition demanding the organization of a Salon des Refusés.<sup>43</sup> Latouche exhibited and acquired Monets before 1870 and throughout the 1870s. Pissarro was a customer, and he paid in paintings, which Latouche quickly resold to Durand-Ruel. After 1875 his wife ran the shop so that he could go back to his original career as an artist. Madame Latouche sold the business in 1886.<sup>44</sup> Hector Brame, like Durand-Ruel, was an admirer of Delacroix. Once Durand-Ruel's business partner, Brame specialized in Camille Corot but dealt in other Barbizon artists and later in the Impressionists, especially Degas. His gallery was located at 47 Rue Taitbout from 1864 to 1892, when his son moved the dealership to 3 Rue Laffitte.<sup>45</sup>

Georges Petit's gallery was also located in this district, at 8 Rue de Sèze, behind the church of La Madeleine. He had inherited the firm of his father Francis in 1877. The younger Petit was a publisher of prints and various artistic publications. Petit had a taste for "ostentatious luxury," and this carried over into his gallery setup.<sup>46</sup> He could offer artists improved social standing, and because of this he was Durand-Ruel's major rival in the 1880s. He began purchasing Impressionist works in 1878 but was not the supporter of Impressionism that Durand-Ruel had been. Monet went to Petit when Durand-Ruel had financial troubles, and by the 1880s Durand-Ruel had major competition from Georges Petit, who mounted an exhibition each year to promote the newest advancements in aesthetics. Monet took part in 1885, Renoir in 1886, and



by 1887 the Impressionists were major contributors to the show, with Monet, Morisot, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley participating. Petit gave Monet his first retrospective show in 1889.

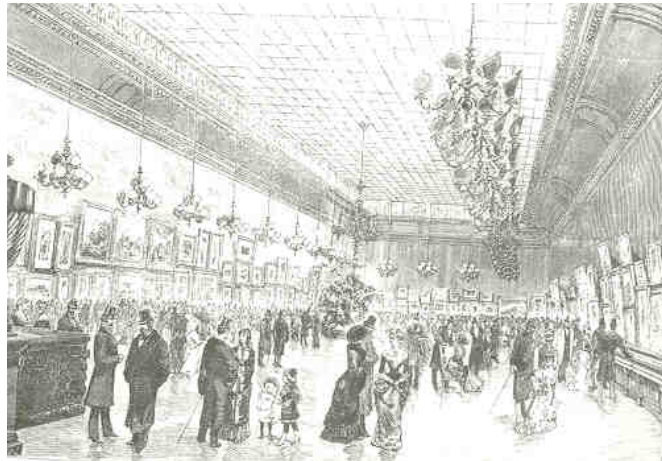


Fig. 12 Georges Petit Gallery, Rue de Sèze, Paris, 1882.



Fig. 13 Goupil gallery, Paris, 1860.



Fig. 14 Theo van Gogh's visiting card, c. 1881-90.

The more traditional Salon dealers were also located in this fashionable district in Paris. In the 1870s, Adolphe Goupil owned the leading art firm in the world, with his main Paris gallery located at 2 Place de l'Opéra.<sup>47</sup> The Goupil firm was one of the premier dealers in Salon artists, and Adolphe Goupil's son-in-law happened to be Jean-Léon Gérôme, one of the most famous of the group. In the 1870s, the Salon still dominated the art market, as it had in the first half of the nineteenth century, with dealers such as Goupil going to the shows to pick out the

paintings they wanted to buy and sell. The Goupil firm sold artists with established names and sound track records, dealing in old masters and the most highly regarded contemporary artists—top notch academic painters and eventually Barbizon and Impressionist artists, but only after the latter had acquired their reputations. Although Goupil did deal in contemporary art, he and his clients were not particularly interested in experimenting with the potential of younger talent.<sup>48</sup>

Shortly after he arrived in Paris in 1878, Theo van Gogh joined the Goupil firm, which was now run by Etienne Boussod and René Valadon. He soon became the manager of the firm's original gallery, located a short walk from the Opéra at 19 Boulevard Montmartre. Developing a taste independent from that of his employers, Theo became interested in the artists who were being represented by Durand-Ruel, but not until 1884 did he attempt to sell anything other than the lucrative Salon material that typified the Boussod and Valadon stock. Theo developed friendships with the Impressionists and, encouraged by the success of dealers such as Durand-Ruel, began to purchase their work. By 1886, when his brother Vincent moved to Paris, Theo was buying Impressionist art and exhibiting it on the second floor gallery of the Boulevard Montmartre branch of Boussod and Valadon. Towards the end of the decade, in 1888 and 1889, he organized one-man shows for Monet, Degas, and Pissarro.

Theo van Gogh was among the first of a new generation of dealers who, inspired by Durand-Ruel, consistently promoted the Impressionists and the Post-Impressionists. These dealers remained in the vicinity of the Opéra until World War I, when the character of the area began to change. They included Joseph and Gaston Bernheim-Jeune, whose gallery at 8 Rue Laffitte showed the works of such “unknown” young artists as Seurat, Van Gogh, and Bonnard, and who helped to create a second generation of Impressionist collectors. The gallery of Ambroise Vollard, the famous Post-Impressionist dealer, was located throughout the 1890s on

Rue Laffitte at nos. 39, 41, and 6, where it remained until the war. Vollard was the dealer for such artists as Renoir, Cézanne, Bonnard, Gauguin, and later Matisse, Rouault, and Picasso. Among other things, he gave Cézanne his first one-man show in 1895 and remains familiar to students of modern art through his portraits painted by Cézanne (1899), Renoir (1908), and Picasso (1909).

### **C. Collectors**

An important element in the development of Impressionist sales and exhibition practices was the prominence of bourgeois patronage. The evolution of the bourgeoisie stemmed from the French Revolution, which was the culmination of years of oppression by the king, his court, and the church. A key factor in the genesis of the Revolution was disillusionment with social laws that had governed France for hundreds of years. Social groups were legally divided into three groups, known as estates. The first estate was made up of members of the clergy, the second of the nobles, and the third and largest group encompassed the remaining members of society. The third estate included everyone from peasants to lawyers, writers, artists, university professors, merchants, and government officials. The educated members of this group, who later became known as the bourgeoisie, were angered by the fact that their power and status in eighteenth-century French culture were incommensurate with their growing economic domination.

After the Revolution, bourgeois ideas spread as aristocratic notions of culture declined. The taste of the middle class and its growing political leadership affected the history of art. In the 1860s the Impressionists began producing small, inexpensive easel pictures suitable for bourgeois ownership. Moreover, the Impressionist movement appealed to the bourgeoisie because its artists painted images of the middle-class world they inhabited. By representing non-aristocratic people in the new city of Paris, they portrayed the progress of France, for which the

middle class had fought through a century of political revolutions. Members of the new bourgeoisie viewed art differently from the aristocrats who governed the old patronage system. They saw art as a commodity, an object for the marketplace, to be purchased and displayed in middle-class homes. Tied to the aristocratic past, the Academy disparaged this “marketplace art.” Traditionalists preferred artists not to sell their work in the open market; commissions from the church or the government were preferred. They also believed in the superiority of history painting, which could be used to educate the public when placed in churches, public buildings, and art museums.<sup>49</sup> The conservative critic Charles Blanc, for instance, regarded sales exhibitions merely as a low form of entertainment and maintained that admissions fees should be charged, as they were for theatres and other amusements. Admission to government expositions, on the other hand, should be free, and since they comprised works that had an educational function, the works should rightly end up in churches, libraries, and universities.<sup>50</sup> By the 1870s, however, middle-class attitudes had gained sufficient strength to make Impressionism a viable option in the art market, a viability that could not have existed without the development of commercial galleries. The ultimate success of Impressionism resulted from a combination of circumstances that allowed for the creation of new forms of exhibitions. In this complex scenario, the views of the dominant middle class combined with those of the artists, who were looking for a place to exhibit and sell their work independent of the Salon.

Some of the Impressionists, including Edgar Degas, Edouard Manet, Frédéric Bazille, Alfred Sisley, Berthe Morisot, Paul Cézanne, and Gustave Caillebotte, had financial resources and were not exclusively dependent on the sale of their paintings. Others were less fortunate. Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Claude Monet, and Camille Pissarro came from working-class families. Monet and Pissarro had to support their own families by selling their work. Degas and Sisley



suffered serious financial setbacks in the 1870s with the deaths of their fathers. Cultivating collectors was, therefore, vital to the lives of many of the Impressionists, and we cannot afford to ignore this practical side of their existence. When it came down to it, the sale of their art was essential not only for their daily sustenance; it also allowed them to continue to paint. In this respect, Nicholas Green is certainly correct to consider art as an “economic process as much as an aesthetic one or, to push it still further, as a function of the state or bourgeois leisure as much as a creative expression.” For Green, the art dealer is “both an entrepreneurial capitalist and ‘hero’ endowed with some of the creative capacities of those he backed.” Green describes the artist as “at best a salaried employee, at worst a pawn at the mercy of cruel market forces beyond his control.”<sup>51</sup>

Industrialized society introduced a new type of collector, the self-made businessman, whose taste for contemporary art was due, in part, to an unwillingness to compete or align himself with the aristocracy. This new class did comprise many collectors of Salon paintings, and those who chose to support the *juste milieu*, but at the same time it also included a small group of collectors dedicated to the developing avant-garde.<sup>52</sup> Some of them also lived in the area of the *grands boulevards*. Jean-Baptiste Faure lived on Rue Neuve des Mathurins in the 1870s, and at 52A Boulevard Haussmann (right behind the Opéra) in the 1880s. His apartment on Boulevard Haussmann contained a formal gallery, which he opened for some visitors. Among them were the Havemeyers, friends of Mary Cassatt who assembled America’s most famous collection of Impressionist art. Faure was a hugely successful opera singer with an international reputation who began his career at the Paris Opera House. Dividing his time between France and tours abroad, he was earning a fortune by the day’s standards. He formed his first collection under the influence of a fellow opera singer, Paul Baroilhet, who had put

together an impressive collection of Barbizon paintings, buying them at low prices and selling them at a nice profit. Encouraged by Baroilhet, Faure began speculating on Barbizon art, acquiring much of it from Durand-Ruel. When he sold this material at auction in 1873, Durand-Ruel not only served as the expert appraiser but, in order to maintain Barbizon prices, was forced to buy back much of Faure's collection.

In 1872 Faure purchased his first Impressionist painting, Pissarro's *Snow Effect*, which was one of the works that Durand-Ruel had acquired in London in 1871. Faure became the first important patron of Manet when, in 1873, he paid Durand-Ruel 10,000 francs for *The Port of Boulogne in the Moonlight* and *The Spanish Singer*, both of which Durand-Ruel had bought the year before, directly from Manet, at a cost of 3,800 francs.<sup>53</sup> Also in 1873, Faure purchased *Masked Ball at the Opera*, which was based on a ball at the old Opera House on Rue Le Peletier.<sup>54</sup> Faure was the largest collector of Manet, having owned sixty-seven of the artist's works at one time or another.<sup>55</sup> Faure also took an interest in Monet. He bought four canvases for 4,000 francs after the First Impressionist Exhibition of 1874,<sup>56</sup> and loaned two of them to the Second Impressionist Exhibition, also held at Durand-Ruel's gallery. Altogether, Faure acquired between fifty and sixty paintings by Monet, including *Boulevard des Capucines*; moreover, not satisfied with buying only finished works, from time to time he made suggestions concerning works in progress. In 1874 he had Sisley accompany him on a trip to London, where he commissioned a series at Hampton Court. The Impressionists, in turn, kept in mind what patrons such as Faure liked and disliked. Even so, Faure stopped buying Monets in 1879 because he disapproved of the freer style with which the artist was painting his series of canvases at Vétheuil.

A strong supporter of Monet at this time was Ernest Hoschedé, a wealthy department store owner who lived at 56 Boulevard Haussmann.<sup>57</sup> Hoschedé purchased Monet's *Impression, Sunrise* from Durand-Ruel in 1874, just after it caused such a scandal at the First Impressionist Exhibition.<sup>58</sup> Hoschedé had been a customer of Durand-Ruel since 1873 and had already purchased several works by Monet, Pissarro, and Sisley. He and Faure were the earliest collectors buying the Impressionists from Durand-Ruel, and like Faure, Hoschedé purchased the works and then resold them with the intent of profiting from his investments. Hoschedé was the biggest lender to the Third Impressionist Exhibition in 1877 but declared bankruptcy later that year. Buyers at the bankruptcy auction of his collection in 1878 read like a "who's who" of early Impressionist patrons, including Faure, Henri Hecht, Victor Chocquet (a retired customs officer who supported Renoir in particular), Georges de Bellio, Constantin de Rasty, Mary Cassatt (a fellow Impressionist artist who came from a wealthy American family), Jean Dollfus, Théodore Duret (an art critic and writer), and Ernest May.<sup>59</sup> After 1878 Hoschedé became a journalist, writing reviews of the Salon and other exhibitions.



Fig. 15 Edouard Manet, *Jean-Baptiste Faure as Hamlet*, 1877.



Fig. 16 Edouard Manet, *Ernest Hoschedé and his daughter Marthe*, 1876.

Hoschedé and Faure were fairly typical French bourgeois collectors. Both self-made, wealthy men, they looked at the Impressionist works they were purchasing as investments. Being speculative collectors, they created collections of unestablished artists and sold them soon thereafter, usually at a profit. And just as Durand-Ruel had once repurchased Barbizon canvases to maintain their prices, as the primary dealer of the Impressionists he routinely bought back works from some of the same collectors to whom he had recently sold them.

## CHAPTER 3: DURAND-RUEL IN AMERICA

### A. Monetary Problems

Probably the most important thing that Paul Durand-Ruel did in his career as an art dealer was the result of the many financial setbacks he suffered in the 1870s and early 1880s: introducing the Impressionists to America. Although there were some early supporters of Impressionism in the Paris—Faure, Hoschedé, and others—Durand-Ruel had difficulty selling the many works in his stock of paintings, for his sales never quite kept pace with his acquisitions. The depression of the mid-1870s left potential art patrons strapped for cash, and Durand-Ruel could no longer afford to give his artists monthly stipends.<sup>60</sup> Not until 1880 was he once again able support the Impressionists steadily, for he now had a backer, the director of the Union Générale bank, who gave him capital for new stipends and purchases. But in 1882 the bank failed, leaving Durand-Ruel on the verge of bankruptcy.<sup>61</sup>

In addition to the trying financial times in Paris, many artists were still looking at traditional ways to sell their work. Even after they had created their own exhibitions and been represented by dealers, many continued to submit work to the Salon because it had such a strong tradition in France. In 1881 Renoir wrote to Durand-Ruel: “There are fifteen art lovers in Paris capable of appreciating a painter without the Salon. There are 80,000 who wouldn’t buy a thing from a painter not exhibited at the Salon. That’s why I send my portraits every year. . . . My Salon submission is entirely commercial. It’s like some medicines: it may not do any good, but at least it does no harm.”<sup>62</sup>

Durand-Ruel’s other financial difficulties stemmed from his stock of the Barbizon painters, many of whom died in the 1870s and 1880s, causing the contents of their studios to

flood the art market. As noted above, the dealer had to buy many of these works in order to maintain prices, and since, as John Rewald explains, “to buy steadily without selling can hardly be considered a sound business basis . . . it was only natural that Durand-Ruel often found himself faced with almost insoluble problems.”<sup>63</sup> In 1883, moreover, he wrote to one of his artists, “I am terribly sorry to leave you without a penny, but I have nothing at all at the present moment.”<sup>64</sup>

When Manet died in 1883, Durand-Ruel and Georges Petit were responsible for selling his estate. At the auction of Manet’s work at the Hôtel Drouot, friends such as Jean-Baptiste Faure, Gustave Caillebotte, Antonin Proust, and Théodore Duret bought many works and encouraged others to do the same. Manet had achieved his life-long ambition to be respected at the Salon by being awarded a prize there, and after his death the new Minister of Fine Arts, Antonin Proust, pushed for a retrospective of Manet’s work at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Museums, however, still saw little long-term value in Impressionist paintings. Even with the support of Manet’s friends at the posthumous sale, *Olympia* was bought in without a single bid, and the *Execution of Maximilian* also remained unsold. Durand-Ruel used this sale in his memoirs to give an idea of public taste as well as his marketing problems in the early 1880s.<sup>65</sup>

## **B. New York in the 1880s**

Durand-Ruel’s financial setbacks and the need for a new group of clients ultimately led to the 1886 Impressionist exhibition in America and the opening of the Durand-Ruel Gallery in New York. In 1885 Durand-Ruel was approached by James Sutton of the American Art Association (AAA) to mount a major exhibition of Impressionist paintings at this important New York gallery.<sup>66</sup> Sutton and Thomas Kirby had founded the AAA in 1883 with the hope that their association would promote and create a market for American art. They attempted to do this by,

among other things, establishing the Prize Fund Exhibitions, which were competitions for American artists judged by wealthy patrons such as Cornelius Vanderbilt and Henry O. Havemeyer. After a few years in business, however, Sutton sensed that patrons were still hesitant to buy contemporary American art, so he decided to introduce the public to another kind of art.<sup>67</sup> Accordingly, he approached Durand-Ruel because he had been impressed by the importance of the dealer's collection and thought it would stimulate interest in America. Sutton's offer to bring the Impressionists to America came at a prime time for Durand-Ruel, who was nearly bankrupt, and the dealer hoped it would bring him out of his long-standing financial problems. As he said in his memoirs, "I have no idea how I would have surmounted them [his financial problems], without the happy circumstances which, late in 1885, put me in touch with the American Art Association of New York."<sup>68</sup> In exchange for a commission fee, the AAA paid all expenses associated with the exhibition. In March 1886, Durand-Ruel went to New York to supervise the installation of the approximately 300 paintings sent from his Paris gallery, and the exhibition opened in April.<sup>69</sup>

Though the 1886 exhibition was the largest of its kind, it was actually not the first time that Impressionist paintings had been shown in America. At the Foreign Exhibition in Boston in 1883, Durand-Ruel, in conjunction with other dealers, had presented Monet, Manet, Pissarro, Renoir, Sisley, Courbet, and Corot, along with miscellaneous Salon artists and decorative objects. The event marked Durand-Ruel's first trip to the United States.<sup>70</sup> Subsequently, Impressionist canvases were included in the 1884 Pedestal Fund Exhibition, held at the National Academy of Design in New York to raise money to buy a pedestal for the Statue of Liberty.<sup>71</sup> This exhibition featured many decorative objects and 195 paintings by French Salon and Barbizon artists. It also included four Impressionist works—three by Manet and one by Degas—

all borrowed from American collections. Erwin Davis, who later became a major collector of Impressionism, loaned Manet's *Boy with a Sword* and Degas's *The Ballet*. The two other Manets were *Portrait of a Lady* (loaned by William T. Evans) and *Toreador* (loaned by Daniel Cottier).<sup>72</sup> Serving on the painting and sculpture committee for the exhibit were several American artists of note: William Merritt Chase, J. Alden Weir, and James Carroll Beckwith. Since these men had control of the picture gallery, they used the opportunity to show support for French modernism by hanging the four Impressionist paintings in a place of honor, by including what one critic called Degas's "ugly ballet girls,"<sup>73</sup> and even by including an image of the latter in the catalogue.

These exhibitions were important to future Impressionist sales because they established a precedent and showed American collectors that their friends and neighbors were already purchasing Impressionism, but not until the American Art Association approached Durand-Ruel did he truly see the potential for a market in the United States. *Works in Oil and Pastel by the Impressionists of Paris*, as the 1886 exhibition was called, featured paintings by the Impressionists but also, in typical Durand-Ruel fashion, contained a few more traditional works to soften the shock value. The exhibition was held at the American Art Association for the month of April and consisted of 289 paintings assembled from Durand-Ruel's stock. The show then moved, in May, to the National Academy of Design, where thirteen works borrowed from American private collectors were added. These included seven from Alexander Cassatt, three from Erwin Davis, two from Louisine Havemeyer, and one from an anonymous lender.<sup>74</sup> Both the works loaned by prominent American collectors and the sites chosen for the exhibition—well-known and respectable venues—were vital for the American reception of the Impressionist



artists, who gained a sense of official recognition though their reputations in the United States had yet to be established.

*The Studio*, a highly opinionated magazine that ran for just a short time in the 1880s, devoted its April issue to the Impressionist show.<sup>75</sup> The anonymous author of this issue praised the Impressionists because they “bravely held their own” against the Parisian public. He took an “exhilarating delight to find . . . not a Meissonier, not a Gerome, nor a Cabanel . . . not one of the men who with picture dealers ruled the roost for so long.” The author understood how difficult it was for a public trained to look at a particular kind of art to understand something so different. In explaining the goals of the “new” artists, he told his readers that the pictures were collected by Durand-Ruel: “It is to him more than anyone else that the appreciation of Barbizon is due. He encouraged these men when they were in obscurity and bought their pictures when no one else would.” The author held Durand-Ruel in high regard because he had given with so much “enthusiasm to artists of talent struggling with neglect and poverty, but bravely adhering to their ideals.”<sup>76</sup>

The exhibition at the National Academy of Design contained forty works by Monet, thirty-one by Renoir, seventeen by Degas, thirteen by Sisley, and a total of thirty-eight by Pissarro, Caillebotte, and Morisot; it also included a work by Seurat, done at Pissarro’s request. The highest praise was for Monet. According to the anonymous article in *The Studio*, “If Mr. Durand-Ruel had done nothing more than bring us the pictures of this artist, he would have rendered us a great service. For ourselves, we thank him heartily for the gift.”<sup>77</sup> Although there was no uproar or protest in response to the Impressionist show, as there had been in Paris a decade earlier, many Americans came to see what had caused such a stir abroad. Most people came because they were curious about the art, but some were also curious about the dealer. They

knew he was the same man who had brought them the Barbizon painters, and they knew how he had successfully speculated on these now-popular artists. But Durand-Ruel could never have mounted such a major exhibition without the help of the AAA. Thanks to this organization, the Durand-Ruel Gallery was introduced to America, and so too was Impressionism itself.

Durand-Ruel was so encouraged by the 1886 Impressionist exhibition that he decided to mount another one the following year. In 1887, however, Durand-Ruel encountered problems from American dealers, whose market he was now infringing upon. These dealers had the government enforce an import duty, which hindered the ease of sales that Durand-Ruel had experienced the previous year. Durand-Ruel could legally send the paintings over for an exhibition, but if he intended to sell anything—which he did—he would have to ship every painting that he sold back to Paris, then back again to New York, this time paying duty.<sup>78</sup> To overcome such a blatant protectionist policy, Durand-Ruel and his sons set up a New York apartment where they shipped the paintings after paying the customs duty, and this became the beginning of the Durand-Ruel Gallery in New York.<sup>79</sup>



Fig. 17 Façade, Durand-Ruel Gallery, Fifth Avenue at 36<sup>th</sup> Street, New York, 1894-1904.



Fig. 18 Interior, Durand-Ruel Gallery, New York, 1894.

In 1890 the gallery moved to a new location at 315 Fifth Avenue and later to 389 Fifth Avenue, at the corner of 36th Street—a building owned by Henry Osborne Havemeyer, whose wife Louisine was then the leading American collector of Impressionism. In the decades to follow, this gallery helped to create some of the most important American private collections, and these, in turn, eventually formed the basis of the great American museum collections. American collectors were not speculative in nature, as the French had been; unlike such French patrons as Faure and Hoschedé, they did not “invest” in art only to dispose of it at auction for a profit. Once a major American collection was formed, it generally passed directly to a museum or formed the basis for the creation of a new museum.<sup>80</sup>

The Havemeyers are a key example of this practice. The premier American patrons of French painting at the end of the nineteenth century, they ultimately donated some of the best examples of Impressionism to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Thanks to their donation, the Metropolitan is second only to the Musée d’Orsay in its collection of Impressionist paintings.<sup>81</sup> Louisine Elder had married H. O. Havemeyer in 1883, and together they created an extensive art collection. Havemeyer himself was initially interested in established Salon and Barbizon painters; Louisine was far more adventurous in her taste.<sup>82</sup> Prior to Durand-Ruel’s 1886 exhibition at the AAA galleries, American collectors had very little exposure to avant-garde French art, but as early as 1877 Louisine Elder was introduced to Impressionism in Paris by her friend, the American expatriate artist Mary Cassatt. The Havemeyers were greatly influenced by the 1886 exhibition, because it enabled them to see a wide range of Impressionist pictures for the first time. Although they may have met Durand-Ruel on a previous occasion in Paris, they certainly became more closely associated with him and his sons on this occasion.<sup>83</sup>



Fig. 19 Louisine and Harry Havemeyer, 1889.

With the help of American collectors like the Havemeyers, the international gallery operation became so successful that it allowed Durand-Ruel to get out to debt, to welcome a new audience for the Impressionists, and to watch the value of their works constantly increase. From the 1880s onward, Paul ran the Paris gallery, while the New York gallery was managed by Paul's sons, Joseph and George, on a rotating basis.<sup>84</sup> In 1911 they took over the business, continuing to specialize in Impressionist and similar artists, and the international business was run by the sons and grandsons of Paul Durand-Ruel until the Paris gallery closed in 1975. The New York gallery had closed in 1950.

## CONCLUSION

On the most basic level the goal of any art dealer is to solve the problem of art distribution. He must find the best way for the work of his featured artists to meet its public, and at times he must create that public. Today, prominent and trusted art dealers provide a stamp of approval for the artists that they represent. This is the outcome of the dealer system created by Paul Durand-Ruel. Once marginal figures, dealers became the core of the new system, replacing the government and Academy as arbiters of taste. The dealer supports the artists and inspires them to produce more works, which they are able to do, in part, precisely because the dealer has stimulated an appreciation for the works they are producing. This framework provides opportunities for a greater number of painters to pursue successful careers, especially those interested in the new and the untried, and for a greater number of dealers as well. Dealers create private collections and future museum collections and, in the process, hopefully create a successful business for themselves. The dealer becomes more than just a middleman between the artist and his patron. In effect, the dealer himself becomes the patron, and without his patronage, his money, and his confidence in the future significance of his chosen artists, the art itself may not be created or sustained. In a letter to Theo van Gogh, whose work as a dealer has been briefly described above, his brother Vincent said, “You are as important as the artists you support, because without you we could no longer produce the art that is so important.”<sup>85</sup>

Paul Durand-Ruel recognized that the Impressionists were doing the most important work of anyone at the time and were the natural successors to the Barbizon School. He took an enormous financial risk to promote these artists. He gave them monetary support, hope for future success, and the confidence to pursue their work. Durand-Ruel said, in his memoirs, that

“Art which is in fashion always sells more easily than works by really great painters who are least understood by the public.”<sup>86</sup> He said that he saw this twice: first, when struggling to launch the careers and establish the value of works by the Barbizon painters, and then when doing the same with the Impressionists. He succeeded in creating a market for both of these groups, which was no easy task. As the catalogue of the 1943 anniversary exhibition of his New York gallery reminds us, “it seems strange today that he should have had such difficulty in defending their artistic value; but it took years of tireless effort and unswerving faith until the public was ready to accept them.”<sup>87</sup> The emergence of the modern art dealer and the rise of Impressionism go hand in hand. By his death in 1922, Paul Durand-Ruel had done more than any other man to create the image of the modern art dealer. He was more like a patron than any dealer before him had been. He was a speculator, an expert in art and business, a consultant and a guarantor of quality; he set the pattern soon to be adopted by countless other dealers in contemporary art.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> These artists were not known as the Impressionists until after 1874, but for the sake of clarity they will be referred to as the Impressionists throughout this thesis. The artists called themselves Société Anonyme des artistes peintres, sculpteurs, graveurs, et lithographes when they held their first independent exhibition in 1874; a derisive statement by the art critic Louis Leroy in response to the exhibition gave them their now familiar name. Three years later, on the occasion of their third independent exhibition, the artists adopted it themselves.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the record-breaking sale of Van Gogh's *Portrait of Dr. Gachet* in 1990 for \$82,500,000. At a recent auction of Impressionism and Post-Impressionism (8 and 9 November 1999), Christie's sold 369 paintings for a total of \$102,467,660, yielding an average price of \$277,690. By contrast, in an 1875 sale of Impressionist art at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris, paintings were sold for laughable prices: e.g., a Renoir went for the equivalent of \$16. The popularity of Impressionist exhibits in museums is another indicator of the movement's popularity today. The Seattle Art Museum, for example, stayed open for thirty-nine hours straight so that its patrons could see their most recent Impressionist show.

<sup>3</sup> The Royal Academy was abolished during the time of the French Revolution, and, led by Jacques-Louis David, was re-established as the Académie des Beaux-Arts. Duties of the new institution included jurying the Salon shows and appointing professors to oversee instruction at the École des Beaux-Arts.

<sup>4</sup> Harrison White and Cynthia White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), p. 79. To promote this idea, the rules of the Academy even forbade its members to exhibit or sell their works on their own because, it was claimed, doing so conflicted with the idea of an Academician.

<sup>5</sup> Nicole Willk-Brocard, "Paris: Art life and organization," in *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 5 October 2001), <<http://www.groveart.com>>; Barbara Stern Shapiro, *Pleasures of Paris: Daumier to Picasso* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), p. 100. The Salon actually began in 1667 but was not fully implemented until 1737. The Academy, the artists' studios, and the Salon were all based in the Louvre. In 1855 the exhibition moved to the Palais de l'Industrie on the Champs-Élysées but retained the name of its earlier Louvre location.

<sup>6</sup> White and White, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), p. 14. As a result of this state decision, artists began to produce small easel pictures that were sold to private collectors through the Salon. Addresses of artists were even printed in the Salon catalogues so that prospective patrons might find them more easily. After the Salon became a marketplace, neither the conservatives nor the liberals were pleased with its "contradictory purposes." The original intent of the Salon as a "didactic exhibition venue" competed with the newer phenomenon of the Salon as an art marketplace.

According to Maindardi, it was these contradictory purposes that eventually led to the collapse of the Salon system in the 1880s.

<sup>8</sup> The Academy was structured so that a student studied drawing there but had to go to the private studio of an Academician to learn to paint.

<sup>9</sup> The Académie Suisse, like its contemporaries, the Académie Julian and the Académie Colarossi, were studios of artists independent of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts; students were offered training and critique by Academicians but were ineligible to compete for the Prix de Rome or other prizes offered to students of the Beaux-Arts. For a discussion on the structure of the Parisian Art Academies, see Tamar Garb, *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Phaidon, 1971), p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Richard R. Brettell, *French Salon Artists* (New York: Abrams, 1987), p. 79, makes an argument that “there was no such thing as official Salon art.”

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> John Rewald, *History of Impressionism* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1961), p. 210.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure and Parisian Society* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1988), p. 3. The new, modern city did, however, have many opponents, including those whose houses were torn down to make room for the widened boulevards and quays, as well as those nostalgic for the city they had always known.

<sup>16</sup> Manet's studio at 39 Rue St.-Petersbourg was only two blocks away.

<sup>17</sup> Mariel Oberthur, *Cafés and Cabarets of Montmartre* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1984).

<sup>18</sup> For a look at each of the eight “independent” exhibitions see Charles S. Moffett, et al., *The New Painting: Impressionism 1974-1886*, exh. cat. (San Francisco: Museums of San Francisco, 1986).

<sup>19</sup> Gary Tinterow and Henri Loyrette, “The Salon of 1859,” in *Origins of Impressionism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), p. 4. Although the Salon is usually thought to have been exclusive and limiting, its size suggests otherwise. In 1859, for example, it accepted no fewer than 3,045 paintings and was to grow even larger; almost 3,700 more paintings were allowed into the Salon in 1870 than in 1852. To put these figures into perspective, it may be noted that the first Impressionist exhibition featured only 165 items.



<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Quote from Martha Ward, "Impressionist Installations and Private Exhibitions," *Art Bulletin* 73 (December 1991), p. 600.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 600-01. The Salon's hanging was determined until 1861 by the hierarchy of genres. After 1861, works were hung alphabetically according to the artist's last name, except for the rooms reserved for the official paintings.

<sup>23</sup> Anon., "A l'Exposition anglaise," *La Vie Parisienne* (April 1867), pp. 276-77, quoted by Ward, p. 601.

<sup>24</sup> There was precedent for the idea of an independent exhibition, but not by a group of independent artists. In 1855, for example, Courbet held an exhibition of his work, which he called the "Pavilion of Realism," and in 1867 Manet showed a group of his works that had been rejected by the Salon.

<sup>25</sup> Moffett, p. 146.

<sup>26</sup> Ward, p. 604.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), p. 49. John Russell Taylor (in John Russell Taylor and Brian Brooke, *The Art Dealers* [New York: Scribner, 1969]) classifies one dealer category as the "Durand-Ruel type," that is, a dealer who deals in and has a personal relationship with contemporary artists. According to Taylor, p. 59, men like Durand-Ruel were the "first art dealers in the full modern sense of the term, and the models for all who came after."

<sup>28</sup> Lionello Venturi, *Les Archives de l'Impressionisme* 2 vols. (Paris and New York: Durand-Ruel, 1939), translated in *One hundred Years of Impressionism: A Tribute to Paul Durand-Ruel* (New York: Wildenstein Gallery, 1970), p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> François Curiel, "The Makers of Modern Art: The Durand-Ruel Family," *Art and Auction* (Dec. 1999), p. 91.

<sup>30</sup> He later sold the stationery store to the store manager.

<sup>31</sup> *One hundred Years of Impressionism*, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Many of the Impressionists, particularly these two, had been influenced by the Barbizon school.

<sup>34</sup> Durand-Ruel had struggled to sell the Barbizon works in the 1840s and 1850s, but by the 1870s they were firmly established.

<sup>35</sup> Jensen, p. 289, n. 6.

<sup>36</sup> Moffett, p. 108.

<sup>37</sup> Linda Whiteley, "Accounting for Tastes," *Oxford Art Journal* 2 (April 1979), pp. 25-28.

<sup>38</sup> Anne Distel, *Impressionism: The First Collectors*, trans. Barbara Perround-Benson (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990), p. 24.

<sup>39</sup> Little is known about many of the dealers on Rue Laffitte, including Moureaux at No. 5, Weyle at No. 15, and Gustave Tempelaere at No. 28. This is a problem with most art dealers, who seldom kept accurate records or memoirs, or, if they did, the information has been lost over the years. Such information as does exist was gathered by Anne Distel from the Durand-Ruel archives.

<sup>40</sup> Distel, pp. 34-35.

<sup>41</sup> Linda Whitely, "Alexis-Eugène Detrimont," in *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 5 October 2001), <<http://www.groveart.com>>.

<sup>42</sup> Distel, p. 40.

<sup>43</sup> The Salon des Refusés had been established in 1863 by Napoleon III in response to complaints about the number of rejections from the official Salon. Under pressure from the government, the Academy again showed rejected works in 1864 and 1873, but not without the stigma that naturally came along with rejection from the Salon.

<sup>44</sup> Distel, p. 33.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>46</sup> Since Georges Petit's archives have been lost, Distel, p. 36, quotes Emile Zola's description of him: "He was the son of a picture dealer of the old style who had done good business. A flashy dresser, very smart. He himself began to do business at his father's. Then ambition seized him: he wanted to ruin the Goupils, out do Brame, be the first and foremost. And he had his town house built on the Rue de Sèze—a palace. He started out with three million inherited from his father. His establishment cost [him] four hundred thousand francs. Wife, children, mistress, eight horses, castle, hunting preserves."

<sup>47</sup> John Rewald, "Theo van Gogh as Art Dealer," *Studies in Post Impressionism* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), p. 8. Goupil wanted to be an artist but settled for publishing engraved reproductions of paintings, which was, at the time, a steady business for art dealers. The prints were sold individually or published in books. Engraving was then the only way to reproduce multiple copies of a painting. Goupil opened a printing shop in 1827, where, "in addition to

works by old masters such as Veronese, Titian, Murillo, Correggio, and Raphael, Goupil also reproduced pictures by contemporaries. For this purpose he would sometimes buy their paintings and later sell them. Thus, little by little, he began to deal in works of art" (ibid.).

<sup>48</sup> In a letter in 1874, Theodore Duret urged Camille Pissarro not to participate in shows independent of the Salon: "You must become known to the public and be accepted by all the art dealers and collectors. The only way to do this is through the auctions at the Hôtel Drouot and the major exhibition at the Palais de l'Industrie"; Duret to Pissarro, 15 February 1874, as cited in Monique Nonne, "The Impressionists and France, 1865-1914: Artists Scorned, Artists Admired," *Impressionism: Paintings Collected by European Museums*, Ann Dumas, ed., exh. cat. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), p. 40. One of the art dealers to whom Duret must have been referring was Adolphe Goupil.

<sup>49</sup> Ann Dumas, "Introduction," *Impressionism: Paintings Collected by European Museums*, exh. cat. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), p. 18.

<sup>50</sup> Jane Mayo Roos, "Aristocracy in the Arts: Philippe de Chennevières and the Salons of the Mid-1870s," *Art Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1989), pp. 53-62.

<sup>51</sup> Nicholas Green, "Circuits of Production, Circuits of Consumption: The Case of Mid-Nineteenth-Century French Art Dealing," *Art Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1989), pp. 29-34. See also idem, "Dealing in Temperaments: Economic Transformation of the Artistic Field in France During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Art History* 10, no. 1 (March 1987), pp. 59-78.

<sup>52</sup> The term *juste milieu* applies to contemporary artists who were neither traditional Salon painters nor part of the modern movement. Their works appealed to academic and avant-garde artists alike, because it contained elements of both groups.

<sup>53</sup> Distel, p. 77.

<sup>54</sup> Distel, p. 80. Faure then sold this painting to Durand-Ruel in 1894, and in the following year Durand-Ruel sold it to the Havemeyers, who later bequeathed it to the National Gallery in Washington.

<sup>55</sup> Anthea Callen, "Faure and Manet," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 83, no. 6 (March 1974), p. 157.

<sup>56</sup> According to Monet's account books, quoted by Distel, p. 84.

<sup>57</sup> The Monets and the Hoschedés shared a home in Vétheuil in the late 1870s. In 1879 Monet's wife Camille died, and in 1881 he and Alice Hoschedé, Ernest's wife, left together for Poissy. They continued to live together and were finally married in 1892, when Hoschedé died. Ernest and Alice Hoschedé's daughter, Blanche, later married Monet's son Jean, and they took care of the painter at Giverny until his death in 1926. Charles Stuckey, "Love, Money, and Monet's Dêbâcle Paintings of 1880," *Monet at Vétheuil: The Turning Point*, exh. cat. (Ann Arbor:

University of Michigan, 1998), pp. 41-62; John House, *Monet: Nature into Art* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1986), p. 5.

<sup>58</sup> According to Monet's account books, quoted by Distel, p. 95.

<sup>59</sup> Distel, p. 105.

<sup>60</sup> Because of these setbacks, many of his artists were forced to go to other dealers.

<sup>61</sup> *One hundred Years of Impressionism*, Preface.

<sup>62</sup> Renoir to Durand-Ruel, Algiers, March 1881, cited in Lionello Venturi, *Les Archives de l'Impressionisme*, vol. I (Paris and New York: Durand-Ruel, 1939), p. 115.

<sup>63</sup> John Rewald, "Durand-Ruel: 140 Years, One Man's Faith," *Art News* 42 (Dec. 1943), p. 178.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> As late as 1889 and 1890 Monet had to fight furiously to have Manet's *Olympia* remain in France instead of being sold to foreign collectors, and in 1894 the Musée de Luxembourg refused the bequest of Gustave Caillebotte, which included many important paintings. Only after a battle waged by Renoir was the bequest accepted, and even then only twenty-nine of Caillebotte's sixty-seven paintings were taken, owing to the opposition of many prestigious French artists, particularly the leading academician, Jean-Léon Gérôme; Nonne, p. 48.

<sup>66</sup> Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* (New York: Abrams, 1986), p. 39. Sutton was the son-in-law of R. H. Macy, who at the time was the owner of a dry-goods shop on 14th Street.

<sup>67</sup> For an example of a typical New York collection in the 1880s, see the list of pictures sold at the Morgan sale of 1886. The collection included works by 116 artists, the great majority being French academic, *juste milieu*, and Barbizon painters, including Bonheur, Bouguereau, Breton, Cabanel, Corot, Couture, Daubigny, Decamps, Delacroix, Diaz, Dupré, Gérôme, Meissonier, Millet, Rousseau, Tissot, and Troyon. See Anon., "The Impressionist Pictures," *The Studio: Journal of the Fine Arts* 21 (April 1886), p. 254.

<sup>68</sup> As quoted in *One hundred Years of Impressionism*, p. 6.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., Preface.

<sup>70</sup> Weitzenhoffer, pp. 35 and 260, n. 11.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>72</sup> *Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition*, exh. cat. (New York: National Academy of Design, Dec. 1883), pp. 24-26.

<sup>73</sup> Anon., "My notebook," *Art Amateur* (June 1886), pp. 1-2.

<sup>74</sup> For a list of all works included in this exhibition, see *Works in Oil and Pastel by the Impressionists of Paris*, exh. cat. (New York: National Academy of Design, 1886).

<sup>75</sup> Anon., "The Impressionist Pictures," *The Studio: Journal of the Fine Arts* 21 (April 1886), pp. 245-54.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>78</sup> Rewald, p. 179.

<sup>79</sup> Anon., *The Studio: Journal of the Fine Arts* 2, no. 10 (April 1887), p. 177: "Mr. Durand-Ruel has decided to establish in this city a branch of his house in Paris, and has taken temporary quarters at No. 28 West 23<sup>rd</sup> Street, until he can find rooms to his mind. For all lovers of art this ought to be a welcome piece of news; Mr. Durand-Ruel is well known for the spirited support he has given to the artists of the so-called 'Impressionist' school, and to those allied to the movement; as well as to the men of Fontainebleau and the Romantics in general. He has had, in a distinguished way, the courage of his opinions, and every one who loves pictures for their own sake and not for the money they represent in the market, ought to be well disposed toward a man who has done so much to foster this way of regarding art. Some of our more intelligent amateurs, the men who buy pictures by their eyes and not by the 'ticker,' have added Mr. Durand-Ruel's pictures to their collections; and we are glad to know that their support has encouraged him."

<sup>80</sup> See Jensen, pp. 61-62.

<sup>81</sup> Gary Tinterow, "The Havemeyer Pictures," *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), p. 3.

<sup>82</sup> Dealers such as Goupil had founded galleries in New York in order to sell Salon and Barbizon paintings to American collectors. Before Durand-Ruel became their primary dealer, the Havemeyers bought many of their more conservative paintings through the Goupil Gallery, which is now called M. Knoedler & Co. and still exists in New York today.

<sup>83</sup> It is possible that Durand-Ruel had called on the Havemeyers when he was in New York in 1885 or that Louisine had met him in Paris, as she was frequently in the company of Mary Cassatt; Weitzenhoffer, pp. 40, 203, and 205.

<sup>84</sup> Paul's son Charles managed the gallery with his brothers until his early death in 1892; Weitzenhoffer, p. 92.

<sup>85</sup> Vincent van Gogh, *The Letters of Vincent van Gogh to His Brother, 1872-1886*, translated from Dutch by J. van Gogh-Bonger (London: Constable & Co., 1927), p. 586.

<sup>86</sup> As quoted in *One hundred Years of Impressionism*, p. 2.

<sup>87</sup> *Exhibition Catalogue in Celebration of the Durand-Ruel Gallery's 140 Year Anniversary* (New York: Durand-Ruel Gallery, 1943), p. 1.

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## VITA

Marci Regan grew up in Louisiana. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree in communication disorders with a minor in art history from LSU in 1997. She went on to pursue a Master of Arts degree in art history. During an LSU summer abroad program in Paris, Marci went to the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam where she saw the exhibition *Theo van Gogh (1857-1891): Art Dealer, Collector and Brother of Vincent*. This exhibition sparked Marci's interest in how the art market can affect the course of art history. Marci decided to write her master's thesis on the art market, and then moved to New York to participate in a graduate program at Christie's called Connoisseurship and the History of the Art Market. Marci now works as an Exhibition Coordinator at The Museum of Modern Art in New York.